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## **THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE**

RODGER VAN ALLEN

## **PAX CHRISTI IN DAYTON**

## **CHRISTMAS AND PEACE: THE EDITORS**



RALPH DELLA CAVA  
SISYPHUS  
ABIGAIL McCARTHY  
MARVIN PERRY

THOMAS POWERS  
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.  
LEONARD KRIEGLER  
JOHN N. KOTRE

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# NEWS & VIEWS

Craig's Crust

Craig Claiborne's incredible *New York Times* article on his \$4,000, nine-wine, 31-dish diner—parlayed out of a \$300 dinner-for-two bid in a local TV station's fundraising auction—brought an avalanche of negative mail down upon the *Times*; 250 letters by an early count, with more arriving.

A reader from Jersey City asked: "How can anyone reconcile this smugly decadent story and almost daily reports of worldwide hunger and starvation?"

A Pennsylvania reader commented: "We have long heard of extravagance, the dissoluteness, and the decadence that preceded the collapse of the Roman Empire, or the French Revolution. Will future historians use this dinner as a symbol of the moral decay and debasement to be found in the United States shortly before its fall?"

Claiborne's indelicacy was supreme, but rivaled nevertheless by that of the *Times*' editors, who moved Claiborne for the occasion from his usually obscure corner on the culinary page to page one, under a three-column head.

At least one letter wished Claiborne a severe case of



Vadillo—Siempre, Mexico

indigestion, but he remained serene, remarking that he doubted anyone could "seriously believe that as a result of that evening I have deprived one human being of one mouthful of food."

Updating Marie Antoinette, he added that he did not think the dinner represented contempt for world hunger any more than if he had settled for a Mercedes-Benz.

## The Squeeze on Peace

Why is it that peace organizations forever have such a difficult time in qualifying for tax exemption, or maintaining this exemption once having been granted it?

The thought is provoked by a letter in the Nov. 21 *Times Literary Supplement* from Edith Russell. She wrote:

"My late husband, Bertrand Russell, established the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in 1963. In the past dozen years it has accomplished some quiet successes and prompted some controversy. Many people have reason to be grateful for its activities.

"Now the entire future of the foundation is imperiled by the Inland Revenue, which later this year is bringing a case in the High Court against it. The Revenue is seeking to charge the foundation Corporation Tax amounting to over £35,000 on royalties from my husband's *Autobiography* which he donated as long ago as 1966.

"At a hearing before the Revenue's Special Commissioners in February 1973, the foundation contended that under existing law it was chargeable with only a much smaller sum (for which it had made provision). The commissioners upheld this contention. The Revenue then intimated that it was not prepared to accept this decision and was determined to change the existing interpretation of the law, so as to levy higher taxes on the foun-

dation and on other taxpayers."

Mrs. Russell added that a large number of Parliament members are watching the case, as it raises vital questions for other organizations engaged in public work.

Britain's situation is not the United States', of course. But the bureaucratic mentality isn't so different. Which thus makes Mrs. Russell's protest as valid here as there: "Public work of this nature, which involves its supporters in considerable sacrifices, should not be treated as normal commercial enterprises."

## Apastoral Parishes

Auxiliary Bishop Albert Ottenweller of Toledo, telling it like it is at the General Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington:

Catholic parishes are "very heavy" on institutionalism, "very light" on community. . . . "Parish priests are finding it extremely difficult if not impossible to bring the directives on Vatican II to life in their parishes (especially large parishes) as those parishes are now constituted." . . . In their "frustration," many priests are avoiding parish ministry or having breakdowns or "just waiting around for retirement."

Bishop Ottenweller's point: The "primary structure of the parish is faulty," and current structure should be studied by the bishops "to find a model more adaptable to our times and to the vision of the Council."

Prolonged applause.

Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin of Cincinnati, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, urged Ottenweller to circulate his proposal among the bishops for study and possible action.

## Variations on a Theme

Jean-Marie Domenach, director of *Esprit*, French intellectual monthly, speaking on the cultural and moral situation in Western Europe

to the Third Symposium of European bishops:

"For the first time we have a generation which no longer makes any reference to values. The educators of our youth who used to come to see us with book in hand to ask us what we thought of it have been replaced by an anonymous supermarket of culture . . . From 'desacralization' we have passed to 'deculturation.'"

\* \* \*

Gordon Wakefield, British Methodist official, writing on John Wesley and post-Reformation spirituality in *The Month*:

"The corner shop has been demolished to make room for the supermarket, and Methodism, like all Churches, is at a loss in days when the world and its lusts cannot be kept out of our sitting rooms and spiritual values do not seem real in the concrete jungle. A social revolution has taken place; John Wesley would hardly recognize any part of our world, and yet for our salvation we still point men to old categories enshrined in ancient texts."

## Odds and Ends

—There used to be a standing gag about the narrowness of the pre-Vatican II Catholic press that was typified by a legendary headline: TORNADO IN OKLAHOMA: NO CATHOLICS KILLED. Well, it seems such parochialism isn't exactly unique to the Catholic press. *Medical Tribune* recently carried a headline: SAINTHOOD BESTOWED UPON MOTHER SETON, DAUGHTER OF DOCTOR.

—Pope Paul has warned of electronic buggings during the elections of future popes. The Pope instructed cardinals "to maintain careful vigilance" to ensure secrecy and decreed that two technicians be present in the Sistine Chapel to locate any hidden recording devices . . . And they said Watergate hadn't rippled towards the Vatican.

JOHN DEEDY

# CORRESPONDENCE



**St.-John Perse**

Princeton, N.J.

To the Editors: Father Patrick Samway's article [Oct. 24] on St.-John Perse (Alexis Leger) is a well observed and moving tribute to this great but rather too little known poet. Unfortunately, the article gives no impression that St.-John Perse's poems are translated into English. All of them were published in bilingual editions in Bollingen Series between 1949 and 1966, except for T. S. Eliot's translation of *Anabase*, which had originally appeared in 1930. In 1971, Princeton University Press, which had taken over publication of Bollingen Series, published the *Collected Poems*, including all these works. Indeed, Father Samway's quotation from *Amers* is in the Bollingen translation of *Seamarks* by Wallace Fowlie, whom he cites as a critic. At the present time, Arthur Knodel is preparing an annotated translation of St.-John Perse's correspondence, which will also be published in Bollingen Series. It may be added that for several years, beginning in 1946, Alexis Leger was a Fellow of Bollingen Foundation.

WILLIAM MCGUIRE  
Associate Editor  
Bollingen Series

## Postal Blues

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Congratulations on your fine editorial on "Postal Dis-service" in the handsome October 24 Fall Book Issue of *Commonweal*. Your editorial clearly points out the frightening increases in postal costs and the rapid transition of the postal service into a profit-oriented private corporation far removed from the citizen-service government agency established in the first days of the republic, and so important for the spread of news and thought in the development of our nation.

Current increases are even worse

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## CHRISTMAS AND PEACE

Good news for Christmas in a recent *New York Times* headline: "Experts Doubt View That Atom Blast Could End All Life." (One bomb set off in the atmosphere and producing a cataclysmic chain reaction, that is; the super-powers have more than enough to kill off everyone on the face of the globe.) That such a headline could be considered even faintly reassuring is a good indication of the basic insanity of the present worldwide arms race, especially in the area of nuclear weapons, which Pope Pius XII rightly called "infernal creations."

The use of nuclear weapons would be the ultimate human madness, but even their maintenance on the present scale and their continuous expansion constitute a crime against humanity. The same thing can be said of the ever-mushrooming national and international explosion of expenditures for non-nuclear armaments. The solution to many of the worst problems that plague the world depends primarily on an end to the terrible burden imposed by the arms race and on the use of the money saved for vitally necessary steps toward world justice—the only foundation for a true and lasting peace. As the Council Fathers of Vatican II noted, "the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity, and one which injures the poor to an intolerable degree." An article by Ruth Leger Sivard in the April 1975 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* provides some illustrations of the power and fearful appetite of the armaments monster we have created.

In nuclear weapons the United States has a stockpile of 8,000 megatons, equivalent to 615,385 Hiroshimas. What this means in practice: the U.S. nuclear stockpile by itself translates into a potential kill-power of 12 times the present world population. Adding the inventory of other major powers would double the total nuclear stockpile, amounting to tons of high explosives for every man, woman and child on the globe. The cost of maintaining the world's armament staggers the imagination. In 1973, the latest year for which global figures are available, the world total of expenditures for military

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purposes was \$240 billion. Another way to put it: every hour of every day the nations of the world were spending \$30 million on their armed forces and armaments. The U.S. alone had already spent \$400 billion on its strategic nuclear force, and each year spent another \$20 billion for maintenance and expansion. By the end of this decade, it is estimated, total world military outlays in the '60s and '70s will have exceeded the incredible sum of \$4,329 billion.

Given facts like these, it is obvious that the arms race has become a process that is almost out of human control; the war machine has gone berserk. In what started as a defensible search for security, mankind is in danger of losing all contact with reality. And every dollar that is now spent on arms represents the theft of food from the mouths of the earth's poor.

What does the world's expenditure of \$240 billion a year for armaments mean? That sum is larger than the entire gross national product of the populations of Africa, the Middle East and South Asia put together. The U.S. and the USSR alone spend more for military purposes than the combined annual incomes of over one billion people in 33 of the world's poorest nations. The world's annual military spending is more than is spent altogether for the education of over one billion children; it is twice

the public expenditure for health care for the total world population; it is almost twenty times the value of the foreign economic assistance of all nations put together. Worldwide medical research gets \$4 billion a year; military research and development takes a grand total of \$25 billion.

In a hungry world, such profligate military spending has tragic consequences. Every dollar spent on arms means less food somewhere else. In 1973 it is estimated that 460 million people were suffering from severe malnutrition. Just a portion of the amount we spend on arms each year would meet crisis needs at home and abroad and provide long-term assistance to improve food production. For only \$4 billion annually, 200 million children would be provided special feeding programs. Even less than that amount would treble present aid for agricultural development. Out of the present world population, more than 700 million are unable to read or write; at a cost of only \$1.5 billion a year, it is calculated that illiteracy could be virtually eliminated in five years.

In short, for a fraction of what we now spend on arms every year, we could change the face of the earth. Is it not time to make a start? And what better time for a new beginning than at the birthday of him we call the Prince of Peace?



## INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT

# **PAX CHRISTI IN DAYTON**

Pax Christi, the International Catholic Peace Movement, is alive and well in its U.S. chapter, and though in its infancy, faces its future with hope and determination. That is the conclusion carried away by 220 concerned Catholics who had gathered at the University of Dayton's Bergamo Conference Center, November 21-23, to do their part in seeing the U.S. Catholics could indeed carry their weight in the international movement.

It was an impressive and diverse group. Joseph Fahey of Manhattan College's Peace Studies Institute, the Executive Secretary of Pax Christi U.S.A., was there, of course, as were Gordon Zahn and Eileen Egan, whose energetic work had resulted in the founding of the group. Bishops Gumbleton and Dozier, the group's episcopal moderators, were present actively participating in the weekend's formal meetings and informal discussions; so were *Worldview* editor James Finn, Sister Mary Rae Waller of Network, the Washington-based sisters' lobby group, Tom Cornell of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, and Bryan Hehir of the International Justice and Peace Division of the U.S. Catholic Conference. And

there were others whose full-time occupation was such that their presence was expected.

Striking, however, was the broad base of grassroots participants. They came from 30 different states with males in a slight majority. Perhaps two-thirds of the women were sisters. The ages ranged from 19 to 75 with every decade amply represented. A physician from Fort Wayne, Peter Mayock, attended with his wife and two teenage sons. Ten Benedictine sisters from one community in Atchison, Kansas, attended. There was Betty Leone, a mother of seven, from Washington; Harry Bury, a priest from Minneapolis who had visited Vietnam in 1971; Angie Calvert, a youthful veteran of tax resistance staff work in New York, now the proprietor of a new Catholic Worker house in Kansas City; Tom Heath, a Dominican master of novices, from New England. There were four Pentecostals from Ann Arbor, each with a deep-rooted and long-time concern and work for peace and justice. Students, perhaps one in every five attendees, came from Newman Centers in Pennsylvania, North Carolina and elsewhere, and from Catholic colleges such as Aquinas College in Dubuque, and

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the University of Detroit. Some had received financial help from their schools or Centers to help them get there. They came by car, train and air, many with sleeping bags. Personnel from diocesan peace and justice or social action offices were in attendance, though not in the numbers one might have looked for. Joe Fahey indicated, however, that a thorough mailing list for this group had not been available, and Bryan Hehir expressed confidence of good support for Pax Christi from such persons. College professors were present, but somewhat underrepresented fashion. There was no class or self-righteousness in the group.

Christi's statement of purpose holds that it "in- to contribute to the building of peace and justice exploring and articulating the ideal of Christian non- violence and by striving to apply it to personal life and structures of society." It is not, however, a strictly pacifist group, but one that "invites concerned Catholics to respond to the Church's call to evaluate war with an entirely new attitude and to take an active role in making secure a peace based on justice and love." Those who hold to complete non-violence were well represented at the assembly, but there was only the healthiest kind of tension and exchange between them and what seemed a minority just war view. An example of such an exchange was that between Jesuit Dick McSorley, whose book with the rhetorical question title *Kill for Peace?* expressed his view, and the patiently analytical Jim Finn of *Worldview*, who defended the just war doctrine as "providing principles to think about for policy decisions where power and morality intersect." The use of force was not eliminated for Finn, who held that "there are some values that justify that dire action." But all the dialogue from whatever quarter recognized a common concern for peacemaking. Indeed there was no easy categorization of groups. This was evident in the comments of many on Bryan Hehir's approval of nuclear weapons possession, and bluffing, but not employment. Eileen Egan, of Catholic Relief Services, had earlier in the conference called such weapons an "Auschwitz in the air," and many were uneasy about leaving the use of such weapons in cryptic terms, however well-intentioned such a posture might be.

But the meeting was not essentially a conference for debate, but for action, and perhaps the broadest basis of agreement was that the development of Catholic thinking on war and peace in and since Vatican II had gone largely unpromulgated. Was the most significant period of development and thinking on war and peace in the post-Augustinian life of the Church to be passed by so casually? Were not deeper reflections in the community needed? Could it be that conscientious objection, now clearly no longer a "deviant" position, would, in fact, emerge as the dominant Catholic view? And what of selective conscientious objection, and its corollary of amnesty? Was it not time to bring "all the boys" home?

Finally, what about the arms race Vatican II called an "utterly treacherous trap"? Should not Catholics work to reorient the priorities of our national government away from heavy arms spending and trading to priorities that have as their concern the truly human survival of mankind?

Pax Christi has its international headquarters at The Hague, Holland. Bernard Cardinal Alfrink, the International President, sent a warm letter of greeting and encouragement to the American chapter, and it was personally delivered by Carel Ter Maat, the International Secretary of the Movement. Ter Maat, a distinguished middle-aged gentleman, dates his concern and work for peace from his presence in Arnhem during that city's tragic World War II battle. There are chapters of Pax Christi in most European countries, typically with a bishop as President. Bishops Dozier and Gumbleton, while they serve on the Executive Committee of Pax Christi U.S.A., have chosen to serve more as colleagues than as presiders over the group.

Pax Christi was founded at the end of World War II by Bishop Theas of France, to promote reconciliation between the French and Germans. It spread rapidly and secured the approval and encouragement of Pope Pius XII as the International Catholic Peace Movement.

Its presence in the U.S. was a source of encouragement to Tom Cornell of the Catholic Peace Fellowship as distinctive in identity but collaborative; CPF is distinctly pacifist and has its ties to the interfaith Fellowship of Reconciliation. Pax Christi does not hold pacifism as a condition of membership, and has its ties to the Pax Christi International. CPF in its more than a decade of existence has a distinguished record of on-street witness and service. It has supplied counseling and legal services, has seen to the needs of "prison widows," and conducted educational efforts, all on a hand-to-mouth financial base. Pax Christi U.S.A. is weak on financial resources and full-time staff too, though these needs may be remedied once its vast potential as a broad-based Catholic movement is realized. Cornell commented that CPF may have "a John the Baptist role" in regard to Pax Christi, though to most observers the need for both groups at this point is obvious.

Can Pax Christi make it as a broad-based Catholic movement? It should. It is seeking to work through the Catholic Church in America to promote peace and justice through church educational structures, diocesan

Those interested in Pax Christi/USA may contact Dr. Joseph Fahey at Manhattan College, Riverdale, N.Y. 10471. Readers may also want to note: Thomas Cornell, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960.

centers for peace and justice, religious orders, parishes, and in the hearts and actions of concerned individuals. Pax Christi has taken seriously Pope Paul's statement that "if peace is truly desired, then it is possible, and if it is possible then it is a duty."

If it attracts the support it deserves, Pax Christi will serve as a much needed conscience to and for the Catholic community on issues of peace and justice, and could be a dramatic and significant new element in American Catholicism. The participants at Dayton realized this

but didn't pause over it too long. They struck me as simply concerned to make a real difference with their own lives. They were hopeful but basically uncalculating as to movement potential. That's the stuff out of which authentic movements come.

RODGER VAN ALLEN

*(Rodger Van Allen is Professor of Religious Studies, Villanova University, Co-Editor of Horizons, the Journal of the College Theology Society, and author of The Commonwealth and American Catholicism.)*

## WASHINGTON REPORT

### ARE WE ANY DIFFERENT?

It's scary, this recent interim report of a Senate select committee investigating the deeds and misdeeds of our Government's intelligence-gathering organs. Will Night fall? Or has Night fallen already on the nation, a usually calm associate asks?

He remembers those foreign-policy documents of early times that he was obliged to study in order to obtain his degree. Those documents with their starchy, antiseptic high-flown language. Accounts of rooms full of Metternichs who over the centuries gathered to reweave the pieces after each war. Moving boundaries around . . . people, too, sometimes. Seemed very logical to do, somehow, as the historians described the proceedings, all the time giving the goings-on a most civilized atmosphere.

However, contemporary times, particularly with the beginning of World War II, reflect a somewhat more realistic atmosphere in accountings of international relations. In part, because retiring statesmen went directly from their foreign offices to the publishers' offices in order to defend their conduct and policies against their adversaries. Military officers, likewise. Even intelligence-agency types, literary and retired, began to write novels! The doctoral dissertations in international affairs now seemed unreal, naive or superficial—and were put aside in favor of more topical, gamier accounts. It became agreed that "out there" in the strategic watering-holes of the world it was most difficult—and in the back alleys and basements of Great Power rivalries quite brutal. Yes, quite brutal. But the street-wise spies could get back in from the cold—at least a few could. And, if all could not, certainly those back here in Washington, D.C. who had sent them there were themselves quite proper tweedy chaps, who did the theater (occasionally without explanation leaving in response to a message during the third act) and played tennis well—but not ill-manneredly so. Our chaps, of course—not theirs.

The Senate Committee's interim report—if it's widely read—should put an end to the High Holiness tone of the town's daily newspapers in their reportage of G-men

who are paid to think nasty thoughts and order subordinates to do, or be prepared to do, nasty things, both here and abroad. Another End to Innocence in America. Some, if not all these G-men may be needed. And, at least one or two infrequent dastardly deeds done without the law from time to time. However, from now on, let these men and their deeds be seen as they are. To coin a phrase, power abuses and absolute power abuses absolutely.

The Senate Committee, under Senator Church of Idaho, its chairman, has included in its report some persuasive evidences of improper doings in high places. These are to be understood, not by reading newspaper or magazine accounts of the report, but by reading the testimony of witnesses who appeared before the Committee. The Committee also instructively places before us an Orwellian term, "plausible denial," the concept of which is essential to an understanding of some of the muddy testimony.

The concept of "plausible denial" was originally intended to hide our involvement in secret actions should these actions come to light, as in the case of our U-2 flights over the Soviet Union and the Bay of Pigs disaster on the Cuban shore. What then happened is that "plausible denial" was extended to conceal, for example, the involvement of the President and/or his senior advisers in a secret operation—e.g., the removal by force and violence of a head of state regarded as hostile. Euphemisms cloak discussions as to whether (and how) to assassinate Premier Castro. But, as the Committee report points out, in discussing such an act within the high reaches of a presidential administration "failing to call dirty business by its rightful name may have increased the risk of dirty business being done." Specific acts come to be performed on the basis of general approval of broad strategies, the report continues—"get rid of" Lumumba or Castro or Diem or Trujillo or Chilean General Schneider or. . . In sum, the Committee finds reasoning both in favor of and against direct presidential

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assent in efforts to remove from office those five men. Four of them were assassinated. Castro survives.

The National Security Council (NSC) minutes of a meeting on August 18, 1960, include these of acting Secretary of State Dillon's remarks: "The President (Eisenhower, attending) said that the possibility that the UN would be forced out was simply inconceivable. We should keep the UN in the Congo even if we had to ask for European troops to do it. We should do so even if such action was used by the Soviets as the basis for starting a fight . . . the President stated . . . we were talking of *one man* forcing us out of the Congo; of Lumumba supported by the Soviets. There was no indication, the President stated, that the Congolese did not want UN support and the maintenance of order. . . ."

The Committee report noted that there is no presidential order in the NSC minutes for Lumumba's assassination (which did occur ultimately), but the President focused on Lumumba and was willing to war with the Soviets over him. In its conclusion, the Committee said there is enough documentation to permit a "reasonable inference" that President Eisenhower authorized an assassination plot against Lumumba. On the other hand, the Committee even-handedly points out, there is "enough countervailing testimony" by Eisenhower administration officials and "enough ambiguity and lack of clarity" in the records of high-level policy meetings to preclude the Committee from making a finding that "the President intended an assassination effort against Lumumba." Take your pick.

The thinking of high men in high places is exposed on several occasions by the Committee. One such occurred during the testimony of Richard Bissell, then the CIA Deputy Director of Plans (Covert Operations), before the Committee. He is asked if he discussed pre-Bay-of-Pigs plots against Castro in the course of a conversation with Attorney-General Robert Kennedy in May, 1961:

**Bissell:** ". . . I did, at that time in May, brief the Attorney General, and I think General Taylor to the effect that the Agency (CIA) had been using—I don't know whether (Sam) Giancana was mentioned by name, but in effect, the underworld against the Castro regime.

**Question:** Did you tell them—them being the Attorney General and General Taylor—that this use included actual attempts to assassinate Mr. Castro?

**Bissell:** I have no idea whether I did . . . I have no idea of the wording. I think it might quite possibly have been left in the more general terms of using the underworld against the Castro regime, or the leadership of the Castro regime.

**Question:** Mr. Bissell, given the state of your knowl-

edge at that time, wouldn't that have been deliberately misleading information?"

**Bissell:** I don't think it would have been. . . .

**Question:** But you had information, didn't you, that you were, in fact, trying to kill him (Castro)?

**Bissell:** I think that is a way of using these people against him.

**Question:** That's incredible. You're saying that in briefing the Attorney General you are telling him you are using the underworld against Castro, and you intended that to mean, Mr. Attorney General, we are trying to kill him?

**Bissell:** I thought it signaled just exactly that to the Attorney General, I'm sure.

**Question:** Then, it's your belief that you communicated to the Attorney General that you were, in fact, trying to kill Castro?

**Bissell:** Now you can surmise and I can surmise as to just what the Attorney General would have read into that phrase (i.e. "using the underworld").

There is no record that the CIA sought to establish for Castro's benefit what it desired in order to "incapacitate" an Iraqi Colonel believed to be pro-Soviet. The CIA's Near East Division, apparently successfully, asked permission to establish a "Health Alteration Committee."

Senator Mathias of Maryland, a Committee member, included separate comments of his own in the 347-page report. He wrote as if his words were a laying-on of hands on the report. As if in a low, but purposeful voice, Mathias said the assassination plots discussed are unsettling because they are steps backward. Assassination, he noted, has been an instrument to transfer or terminate political power. But advanced men (and governments) came to acknowledge the priority of ethical principles over force. "The torturer who was once an adjunct of the courts themselves is today an international outlaw," Mathias observed. Assassination against a foreign leader is an "act of war," he said.

The Committee report, he said, is intended not to injure anyone's reputation or damage the intelligence-gathering service, but rather "to stop the erosion of society's values caused by excessive secrecy and unchecked Executive power by making the factual record as accurate and clear as possible."

Mathias makes sense. But he needs lots more company than he has now. The bedside tables of the country could each use a copy of the Committee report.

And in the reading, readers may remember that biography is history, as Carlyle said. John Kennedy had hardly hoisted himself into the presidency before he made public his first reappointments—J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. director, and Allen Dulles, CIA director, whose agencies have generated the current nightmare. SISYPHUS

# A MAORI FAREWELL

ABIGAIL MCCARTHY

*"Lately I'd felt the splashes of a very big wave which bore me along in my very small boat. . . . A sickness was all around and I was made sick, by wage demands and strikes and power stances. . . . Yet it wasn't the wave I feared; riding waves exhilarated, uncovered surprising resources in body and spirit. More than the wave I feared its menacing shadow, the potential to crush and bury the weak."*—from a story by Margaret Sutherland, New Zealand writer

Anyone who doubts that "the movement," that Hydra-headed force for reform and change, is alive and well, should have been in Wellington, New Zealand, on October 15th. Outside the James Cook (for the Captain) Hotel demonstrators in masks and jeans chanted in protest against the visiting Malaysian Prime Minister, and—a few streets away—Maori land marchers pitched tents on the grounds of the Parliament building. Visitors from Washington should have felt right at home.

And yet the ground rules seem different, the atmosphere unfamiliar. There is confrontation, yes—but the sense of volatility, hostility, incipient violence which charges a demonstration in the United States seems missing. The New Zealanders are a people of consensus and the Maori are a people of *aroha*, of communal love. Before the Maori land march began there was much discussion among the Maori themselves as to whether it was in accord with Maoritanga, with the Maori way or culture. As Witi Ihimaera, the gifted young writer who has the distinction of writing the first Maori novel to be published,

ABIGAIL MCCARTHY, a regular columnist in these pages, has been in New Zealand at the invitation of the New Zealand government as a short-term writer in residence.

explains it, a Maori's calm is his greatest possession, and *aroha*, his greatest gift. His dignity comes from his sense of ancestry and his identity with the earth:

Dad knelt beside me and whispered a dream to me.—Look, Tama! . . . See? Across the great ocean of Kiwa they come: From Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa, Hawaiki pamamae. See how they ride the waves to this shore! The Tainui, Te Arawa, Mataatua, Kurahaupo, Tokomaru, Aotea. . . And there, Tama, there comes the Takitimu! Look how they come!

I followed his gaze and the floats indeed became the seven legendary canoes which brought the Maori to Aotearoa (New Zealand, land of the long white cloud). . . . In a later year, confused, I asked father:—E pa, what is a Maori?

He said to me with fierce pride:—Takitimu, Tainui, Te Arawa, Mataatua, Kurahaupo, Tokomaru, Aotea. . . . They are the Maori, Tama. As long as you remember them you are a Maori. . . . Your heart is also their heart. . . .

From *Tangi*, by Witi Ihimaera

Maoris are more secure in their sense of origin and identity than any American minority. Their continuity is clear; their language is living; they were never a completely subjugated people. The government pamphlet *Understanding Polynesians* sums up the present situation: "Most of the present-day tribes trace their ancestry from important people who migrated to New Zealand in one or other of the traditional canoes. . . . Maori society to a great extent disintegrated as the Maoris became outnumbered by European settlers, but many aspects of tribal life are still

strong amongst the present-day Maori. The hereditary tribal leaders still generally have the respect of their people although their actual power is limited. The tribal marae (meeting-place) is still an important living institution and behavior on the marae is still fairly strictly governed by tribal practice." Urban maraes are a feature of life on the North Island, especially in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city.

Even the most uprooted Maori dissident—and there are Maori radicals, complete with black berets—is aware of Maoritanga, the strength of Maori ways. Leaders and planners of the land march were aware of the objections: that it was not truly led by the elders (although its nominal and vocal leader was the venerable 83-year-old Mrs. Whina Cooper, Dame of the British Empire); that it was not done in consultation with the tribes along the way, who were expected both to join in and to provide the traditional Maori hospitality, and that it was not done with *aroha*, love. But in the end most objectors agreed with the Wellington *Dominion*:

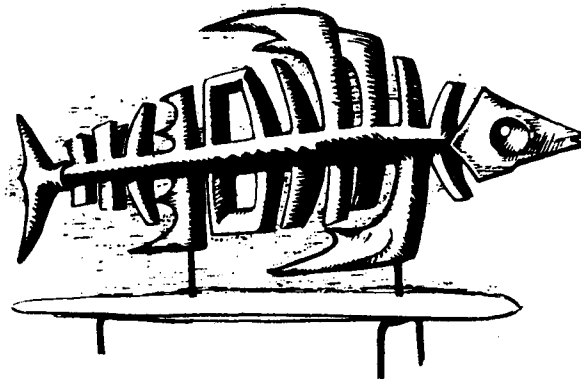
The Maori land march . . . achieved a rare dignity in the month it has wended its way down the length of the North Island . . . (they had begun with 200 and ended with 7000 in Wellington)—the march stands as a symbolic affirmation that for Maoris the land is essential for the continuation of their social and cultural identity . . . if the slog through heat and rain means anything it is that New Zealanders, Maori and pakeha (white) must be more sensitive to the problem of the alienation of customary Maori land out of Maori ownership.

(Continued on page 639)

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# THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE

PETER HEBBLETHWAITE



## The rise of the Fourth Man

*The struggle between the sacred old and the prophetic new is a central theme of the history of religions.*

—Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*

Ten years is not a long time in the history of an institution so venerable as the Roman Catholic Church, and we are all tempted arrogantly to overestimate the importance of the recent past. Yet the last decade of the Church is not just an arbitrary slice of history: it marks the period in which a prodigious effort was made to assimilate the achievements of Vatican II. It is this effort, with its successes, failures, confusions and ambiguities which has given the last decade a certain unity. One fairly obvious conclusion has already emerged: the process of assimilation has been neither smooth nor harmonious, and gaps have opened up between the center and the periphery, doctrine and life, conscience and authority. There has been intense polarization between factions.

A decade ago a French writer described the emergence of a "Third Man" who observed the quarrels between "progressives" (First Men) and "conservatives" (Second Men), and turned away bored ('Le Troisième Homme,' François Roustang, in *Christus*, October 1966). The "Third Man" neither hoped for reform with the progressives nor sought to resist it with the conservatives; he preferred to cultivate his garden. To say that he had "lapsed" would be to put it too melodramatically. It was simply that he no longer cared about the Church

and ceased to identify with it. Ten years on, the Third Men have not grown fewer, but the situation has changed again. After one has looked at what has been happening in the Church, the task is to interpret its meaning.

Interpretation is not an abstract intellectual exercise nor a luxury for those with time on their hands. It is an urgent practical task. If we do not understand our recent past, we will be unable to foresee the future. Most predictions about the Church's future are little more than hasty extrapolations based on prolonging the apparently successful trends of the present. We cannot predict the future because we are, as it were, in the middle of an unfinished German sentence—and the verb which will give it its final meaning comes only at the end. Some of the most dramatic prophecies prove to be less startling on closer inspection. Thus Malachi Martin begins his book, *Three Popes and a Cardinal*, with this resounding chord: "Well before the year 2000, there will no longer be an institution recognizable as the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church of today." It all depends on what is meant by recognizable. To say that the Church will be different is the most evident of truths, for it is in the nature of all living institutions to adapt in order to survive; and whether the Church will be recognizable or not depends on the selection of features believed to characterize its essential nature. Without presuming to tie down in advance the unpredictable Holy Spirit, some fairly clear picture of the Church of the future is needed, because without it there are no particular reasons for taking decisions now. Every decision is a step towards the future, and too often the Church's leaders have haphazardly re-

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PETER HEBBLETHWAITE, a previous contributor, is the former editor of the British *The Month*. This is an excerpt from his forthcoming book, *The Runaway Church*, to be published in this country as a Crossroad Book by The Seabury Press, Copyright © 1975 by Peter Hebblethwaite.

sisted change or made only grudging concessions. Hope does not exclude planning.

Planning the future involves understanding the present. One point of general agreement, perhaps the only one, is that a crisis exists, though as we shall see it is capable of many varied interpretations. Few who use this overworked word take the trouble to define it. I shall use it initially in the sense of Henri de Lubac who, following Teilhard de Chardin, defines crisis as "the disturbance of a state of equilibrium and the search for a new equilibrium." It is the feeling of being knocked off balance that produces the sense of crisis. And the simple reason for this feeling is that the Council formulated a new understanding of the Church which affected every aspect of its life. The familiar Counter-Reformation model of the Church as fortress or "perfect society," complete in itself, able to defy the world and surrounded by formidable enemies was replaced by another model in which Christians mingle freely with the diverse peoples of the world and the Pilgrim Church acts as the sign or sacrament of salvation, though God's grace is not confined to its institutional channels. Many conflicts in the Church arise from a clash of "models": the disputants are literally talking at cross-purposes, since they appeal to different values and criteria of judgment.

The earlier model was easier to grasp, more immediately consoling and psychologically powerful. Inside the fortress strict discipline was maintained, as befitted the embattled situation. Occasionally a "convert" was welcomed across the drawbridge, and he was greeted as someone who had "seen the light." Identity was never in doubt: it was worn like a badge and could not be forfeited whatever happened ("A bad Catholic remains a Catholic"). Life in the fortress certainly represented one sort of equilibrium, and many remain nostalgic for its apparent peace and tranquillity. To disturb that balance, to break with fortress ways and set off in search of a new balance was a courageous undertaking and bound to be painful. Yet that was what the Pilgrim Church was called to do. It had to begin walking—and walking is a matter of nearly but never quite falling over. The balance is momentarily disturbed. There is a feeling of crisis. However, there are various accounts of the crisis, and a critical examination of them will bring us to our conclusion.

A favorite episcopal tactic is to underplay the crisis or even to declare that it does not exist. Since whether a crisis exists or not is partly a matter of definition, this argument can be made to sound plausible. The talk of crisis is said to be the invention of journalists, a disreputable crew, who are only interested in clash, confrontation and conflict and who ignore the solid progress being made in obscurity. This reassuring theory suggests that "everything will all blow over" or that "in ten years' time everyone will have

forgotten about these controversies." The crisis is cut down to size by being referred to as "the so-called crisis" (just as Catholics used to refer to the "so-called Reformation") and consolation is drawn from the long perspective of history. This teaches that there has been polarization and trouble after every council. There is even a special Italian word for it, the *dopoconcilio*, but after a while, "things settle down again" and order is restored.

Three comments may be made on the denial theory. First, it does not work. Far from bringing any real consolation to the worried, it plunges them still further into their distress, since they are only too aware of the contrast between the soothing rhetoric and what their experience tells them. Only the truth can console. Denial and deception, even with best intentions, are counter-productive.

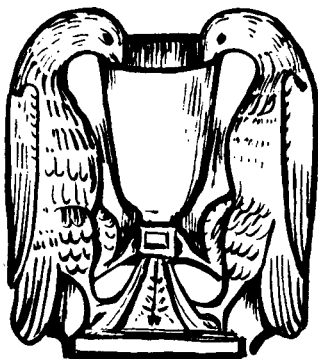
Secondly, although there is something in the idea that clash and confrontation receive more clamorous attention than they did before the Council, this is merely the obverse of a new and desirable openness. In the past every hint and rumor of conflict tended to be suppressed. The front remained solid. The bland led the bland. But what was suppressed did not disappear: It simply went underground and poisoned the Church's life, causing bitterness and frustration. The openness of conflicts in the post-conciliar Church represents a victory for honesty, and it transforms our idea of the Church: no longer a vast monolith marching inexorably forwards and brushing aside the accidents of history, it becomes a people, with all the diversity, turbulence, pressure groups, public opinion and tough argument that characterize a real people.

Thirdly, the notion of the Church "settling down" at some future date is contrary to its pilgrim calling. There will be no point in the future when everything will fall into place, when all the changes have finally been made and the lost Golden Age restored. The law of the Church's life is what Pastor Roger Schutz, Prior of Taizé, calls "the dynamism of the provisional." If we take the model of the Pilgrim Church seriously, then we must expect the Church to have hazards and upsets on its journey. We must expect it to be travel-stained, flawed, weary, encumbered with much bric-a-brac and yet trying to travel lightly, forever picking itself up and starting again. The full reality of the Church has not yet come into existence. It is only the anticipation of the Kingdom, not the Kingdom itself. Perfection, the Golden Age, is a sustaining vision along the way and the gift of God at the end of time, not something that will come about next week or in the next decade or even in the fateful year 2000.

A second interpretation admits the existence of a crisis but attributes it to the work of arrogant and misguided individuals within the Church. If only they could be expelled or curbed, all would be well. This

explanation is widespread and profoundly defeatist: an army in retreat always looks around for scapegoats. There were two contradictory versions of this theory: some blamed the "critics," an ill-defined band of *contestateurs*, while others blamed the mafia of the Roman Curia. The common factor to both versions was that they absolved themselves from responsibility while pinning all the blame on "the others."

Hans Urs von Balthasar, otherwise a distinguished theologian, resorted with increasing bitterness to the explanation by villainy. He denounces "those who have said 'no': they burn but they consume themselves. They become cynical and destructive, they smell each other out and hold together. It makes no matter whether they officially leave the Church or remain within it. Anyone who has some facility for distinguishing spirits can recognize them." This intemperate, almost incoherent outburst leaves the invisible opponents lost in a fog of unclarity. Using more restrained



language, Pope Paul in his Wednesday audiences has rebuked those who "criticize for the sake of criticizing." But the notion of someone not actually sick "criticizing for the sake of criticizing" is as far fetched as von Balthasar's fantasy of rabid fanatics emerging from the Trojan Horse of the Church. To devote oneself exclusively to nit-picking and criticism is both frustrating and futile. And there is an alternative explanation. The critics go to work not to enjoy some perverted satisfaction, but because their hopes are unfulfilled and their love disappointed. If the leaders of the Church could grasp that criticism has a positive role and saw it as an urgent appeal to their pastoral responsibility, then progress could be made. If criticism is dismissed in advance as gratuitous disobedience or mere ranting, then there will be no learning and polarization will grow.

The other version of the explanation by villainy pins the blame on the Roman Curia. The Curia does indeed bear much of the responsibility because of the control which it attempts to impose on the whole Church. Its secrecy, mafia-like tendencies and preconciliar theology have been sufficiently denounced. But we cannot seriously maintain that if the Curia were miraculously to be staffed by supermen who happened to be saints, there would be no crisis. One does not wish to under-

estimate the power of the Roman Curia, but it is not solely responsible for the Church's troubles. Both explanations by villainy must be rejected as the product of naive utopianism combined with Manicheism.

"Liberalism" is sometimes presented as the scapegoat. It is said to have invaded the Church. Since the Council there has been an attempt to adapt to the contemporary world with disastrous results. Cardinal Ruffini, who was Archbishop of Palermo, Sicily, talked about the Church going down on it knees to worship the Golden Calf of Modernity. Malcolm Muggeridge in a series of diverting essays has portrayed the Catholic Church, once the strongest bastion of world-denying Christendom, as "succumbing to the siren voices of material and fleshly well-being wafted across the Atlantic." Both shared the view that the success of the Church was built on pessimism rather than the absurd pretension of improving the world, and that the task of the Church is to criticize the world, not to ape it. What is at stake here is the implicit model of the Church. It is possible for the Church to decline into a sect, and to be content to snatch a few burning brands from the fire of contemporary life; but if it is to be in continuity with the great Catholic tradition, it will refuse to be pushed into the margin of irrelevance, will remain co-extensive with the whole of human life and take the risk of political commitment. But that supposes a continual conversation with the world. It cannot be conducted from the battlements of a beleaguered fortress. If the Church is to teach the world, it must also be ready to learn from the world.

The grain of truth in the Ruffini-Muggeridge interpretation is that if the Church and its members were to spend all their time echoing secular clichés, widely available from other sources, then we could diagnose a loss of nerve and vitality. But there are situations where the Church alone has the strength to denounce injustice, and the Church does not have to be afraid of ever reinforcing a contemporary trend. The cause of the "Third World" does not become less important because it is fashionable. Christians have been roused from their lethargy and made sensitive to the political and social dimensions of their faith, but that does not mean that the Church has become merely a social welfare agency or a spiritual Red Cross. The "politicization" of the Church is a fact. But though politically committed Christians may borrow their categories from elsewhere, their deepest motivation remains Christian.

The search for scapegoats can lead to blaming the crisis on dialogue with other Christians. The Roman Catholic Church has been "protestantized." The Reformation, resisted for so long, has belatedly and bloodlessly triumphed. The Church of Rome has become indistinguishable from Protestantism and is proceeding to repeat its mistakes. It is true that Karl Barth, one of the greatest Protestant theologians of the century, warn-

ed the Catholic Church against this danger and notably against the sort of "biblicism" which ignored history and imagined that one could return to the faith-experience of the primitive Church by overleaping the intermediate stages. But this is very much a theologian's observation: most Catholics do not know enough about the first century to make it a norm. The charge of "protestantization" is usually based on liturgical change and the remark that "one can no longer tell the difference."

It is true that the demand for a vernacular and more accessible form of worship was one of the battlegrounds trampled over at the Reformation, and that Rome has at last conceded the day. It is also true that it has acknowledged that the ministry of the Word is as important as the ministry of the Sacrament, and has underplayed specifically "Catholic" features such as devotion to Our Lady. One can grant the general truth of these assertions, while denying their allegedly ruinous consequences. The polemical situation at the time of the Reformation meant not only that Catholics were unfair to Protestants but that they were unfair also to their own positions. The Counter-Reformation worked on the principle that if the reformers asserted a doctrine, then Catholics must say the opposite. If they denied the real presence, then it must be honored in ever more splendid processions. If they rejected auricular confession, then it must be made the center of the spiritual life. If they dismissed the cult of the saints as idolatrous, then celebrate their feasts with even more pomp and construct still more sumptuous reliquaries. But once liberated from the neurotic fear born of the polemical situation, the way was open to emphasize convergence rather than divergence. This should be a matter for rejoicing rather than lamentation.

Indeed the question should rather be why there has not been a still greater coming together of Christians. No longer do they grow up in ivory towers, in isolation from each other. They are exposed to the same influences, have the same struggles, and cannot be accused any longer of unfamiliarity with each other's thinking. As Bishop Christopher Butler has said, what keeps them apart are the differences inherited from the past, and he went on to suggest that "doctrinal agreement will only come about when communion has been established." This reverses the usual procedure, which has always assumed that "communion was the distant goal, possible once doctrinal agreement had been secured." But Bishop Butler justifies his position (put forward, he hastens to explain, as a question for debate and not a proposal for action) in terms of Bernard Lonergan's distinction between *faith* and *beliefs*. Christians already share in *faith*: they differ in the set of propositions in which they have formulated that faith—or rather in which their respective communions have formulated their faith. "Have we," asks Bishop Butler, "been too

ready to neglect the evidence of shared faith, and to concentrate on the evidence of divisive doctrines?" That is a *nonne* question, expecting the answer 'yes.'

There is another type of explanation for the crisis which avoids the temptation of scapegoat-seeking. It sets the crisis in the context of a changing world. What is happening in the Church simply mirrors the crisis of contemporary society which is also off-balance, and moreover this is as it should be: the Pilgrim Church would know that it was failing in its mission if it failed to reflect the turmoil and pressures of the age, for then it would be unfaithful to the principle of the Incarnation which implies that it must really live in the *now* of history, and not strive for some trans-temporal escape-route. To take two simple examples. "Authority" in all its forms is under attack. It is not only bishops but parents, teachers and politicians who have to devise a new style of authority. Paternalism does not work. Values today are communicated horizontally through the peer-group rather than from above. This means, for example, that the priest, if he is to have any effective authority, will have to discover a more involved and fraternal way of exercising it. Likewise, "institutions" are under attack for their daunting size and impersonality. It would be worrying if the Church came through unscathed, and if Christians did not feel the need to find in the Church a real experience of community.

This is a valuable element in understanding the present situation of the Church. It throws a flood of light on the misunderstandings which have bedeviled the last decade. Different generations operate with different mental maps and judge in the light of different value-systems. The reason why the young apparently "lose their faith" is not because they are hostile or promiscuous or indifferent: it is simply that they do not find in the Church the values that they cherish. Kenneth Keniston, an American sociologist, has usefully summed up the features of youth culture: "Human qualities such as control, planning, waiting, saving and postponing on the one hand, revering, remembering and respecting on the other, are equally de-emphasized. In contrast, activity, adventure, responsiveness, genuineness, spontaneity and sentience are the new experimental values." The effects can be seen in the charismatic movement and in the phenomenon of Taizé. It is not a matter of accepting indiscriminately the alternative mental map which certainly needs supplementing; but the Christian tradition is sufficiently rich and deep to make room for these experimental values. "The voice of youth," said Pedro Arrupe, General of the Jesuits, "is the voice of the modern world in the Church." When that voice is listened to, it makes awkward and stringent demands for "authenticity." It insists that orthopraxis is as important as orthodoxy. It is unhappy with any contradiction between theory and practice.

At last, with the youthful demand for authenticity,

we begin to come close to the heart of the matter. We have seen so many examples of the gap between rhetoric and reality, between the language of faith and its lived content, between what is officially asserted and what is privately believed, between what authority proposes and what believers accept, between, in short, institution and life. The perennial Christian task is to close those gaps as far as possible: they can never be entirely eliminated, for that would mean that the Christian had arrived at his goal, his pilgrimage over. But that does not mean that he can tolerate their continued existence. It is here that we can speak of a new way of belonging to the Church, characteristic of what may be called, after Roustang, the Fourth Man. For while the Third Man went off to swell the ranks of the post-Christians, the Fourth Men remain within the Church while recognizing that they are in conflict with it on major points. And despite the heavy-handed irony of Urs von Balthasar, they not only remain in the Church out of conviction but they cannot conceive of leaving it, and for a very simple reason: they think of the



Church simply as humanity in so far as it has recognized, however falteringly, its vocation in Christ. They can no more leave the Church than they can take leave of humanity. To do so would be a form of spiritual suicide.

Yet the Fourth Man finds himself at odds with the Church. The incurable post-conciliar optimists exhort him to be patient and to bide his time, and remind him of the folly of the cross. The Fourth Man knows about the folly of the cross, but he does not see why it should be compounded by countless other follies which obscure the Christian message and for which no justification can be provided. He learns the truth of Bernanos' maxim: "It is easy to suffer for the Church—the difficult thing is to suffer at the hands of the Church." His adhesion to the Church is a form of critical belonging, and he sees criticism not as self-indulgence but as a duty if identification is to be combined with integrity. He forms part of the "loyal parliamentary opposition" which exercises a watchdog function in the Church. He appreciates the truth of John Stuart Mill's remark: "My love for an institution is in proportion to my desire to re-

form it." And he includes himself in the project of continual reform. But he is keenly sensitive to any attempt to disarm criticism by appealing to faith. This attitude was well expressed by Heinrich Böll, the German Catholic novelist: "You know that there are two definitions of the Church: on the one hand the institutional Church . . . and on the other the Mystical Body. I refuse to play the game of eternally justifying the first by appealing to the second" (Interview in *Commonweal*, May 19, 1974). The strategy to which Böll alludes is very familiar among Roman officials and all who have felt their influence. It consists in switching continually between the severely practical and loftily spiritual. The critic is discredited and said to be losing his faith or his mind or both. The entire institution, with all its historically-conditioned features, is sacralized and treated as though it were wholly of divine origin.

The hypothesis that the Fourth Man has quite simply lost his faith must be taken seriously, for if it were true, he would have nothing to contribute to the Church. Faith can be lost, not in the way one loses a bunch of keys, but in the sense that it ceases to shape a life. But before accusing anyone of losing his faith, we need to define a little more closely the content of faith. The huge theological superstructure erected around faith to elaborate, defend and illustrate it, can hide the fact that the content of faith is exceedingly simple. One has Christian faith if one can say that "Jesus is the Lord"—provided one knows who Jesus is and what "Lord" means. One has faith if one believes that Jesus died so that we might be reconciled with God and each other, and that he rose from the dead as the pledge of our resurrection. His death and resurrection convince us that hatred does not have the last word, that love is worthwhile and hope possible. This is liberating knowledge bringing freedom from the absurd, from the rat-race, from the bitter taste of ashes which is so much part of the twentieth century experience. And faith is verified when it casts light on our everyday experience and life acquires a pattern: suffering is no longer mere degradation, fidelity is possible and death, the last enemy, loses its terror. This is Christian faith. It is not identical with the Humanist's faith in man or the Marxist's faith in history.

But what this brief account of faith does not say is how it comes to us. It is not something we invent from scratch, and if we think we do, it is in the manner of an explorer bravely planting a flag on an unknown island only to discover that it is inhabited after all. Faith is mediated through other people. In practice it comes through the Church: but the word "Church" in itself is an abstraction, and existential faith comes to us through the innumerable believers who, hesitantly and always inadequately, make it come alive for us. Christians mediate faith for each other and the world. They exercise a ministry towards each other and a mission

towards the world. The Christian community is a permanent learning community in which all teach and all learn. The mother who teaches her child to pray, the student grappling with the doubt of a friend—they too form part of the *magisterium*. What one asks, then, of an organized Christian body, a Church, is that it should continue to convey the essential Christian message and provide a credible context in which faith is possible. Christianity uses arguments but depends on community. “We know,” says the First Epistle of John, “that we have passed from death into life, because we love the brethren” (I John 3,14). It is unreasonable to ask for perfect faith, hope undimmed, inexhaustible charity in the Church, as Charles Davis does in *A Question of Conscience*. The Church is the flawed embodiment of faith, hope and charity. One cannot ask that it already be at its goal; one can ask that it should be moving towards it. One can be satisfied if there is enough faith, enough hope and enough charity for it to be a credible sign to the world. The judgment is not made in an instant or a decade. It is the work of a lifetime.

### *Mutual Need*

It is at this point that one begins to sense that if the Fourth Man needs the Church, the Church also needs the Fourth Man. His potential role is as the agent or at least the catalyst of change. One of the Church's problems was that the institutionalized use of the image of the Body made for complete immobility: it led to a model of the Church in which unchangeable roles were permanently assigned: hands remained hands and eyes, eyes, forgetting that the hand needs to see, and the eye needs to work. The Pauline use of the image stressed not only the complementary function of the members but also the need for vital, dynamic and life-giving union with Christ, the head. The Council did not make the Body its central and controlling image of the Church. It balanced it with images of growth, and above all by the model of the People of God in history. The People of God is in movement. If it stands still to contemplate its own splendor, it becomes false to its calling; if it absolutizes a moment of its journey, it betrays its origin and its pilgrim destination. The Fourth Men are a part of the Church. Their contribution will eventually be recognized, because it will be needed.

There is one simple reason why the Fourth Man can have some confidence in the future: it is that the ancient legal maxim, *consuetudo contra legem*, operates in the Church—what is actually done overrides the law, and the law eventually catches up. And since at present the Church has no way of enforcing its demands, precedents are being created. The Inquisition happily no longer exists, the kind of theological witch-hunt that first invented and then destroyed Modernism is no longer possible, and even the fact that the Church officially

forbids something no longer induces automatic guilt-feelings. Most of the bans and prohibitions of the decade have been ineffectual. The official Church may proclaim that inter-communion should cease; but it cannot ensure that it ceases. It may pronounce a ban on birth-control; but it cannot intrude on the privacy of the married. It may revise the code of canon law and present the Church as an authority; but it cannot prevent the experience of the Church from being one of community. It may exhort Christians to shun married priests; but it cannot punish them when they do not. It may hedge theological work around with prohibitions and guidelines; but the work will go on because the questions continue to be asked. It may discourage political priests and committed laymen; but the injustice which prompts them to speak does not go away. The Church is a voluntary association.

To say all this is not to produce a recipe for ecclesiastical anarchy since all the developments mentioned are within the logic of Vatican II. The consequence of saying that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are showered on the whole Christian people will eventually be acknowledged and taken seriously. The Council's statements were clear enough: “The laity in their own way are made sharers in the priestly, prophetic and kingly functions of Christ. They carry out their own part in the mission of the whole Christian people with respect to the Church and the world.” Confidence in the Holy Spirit at work in the whole Church means that ultimately he will bring a greater correspondence between teaching and life, norms and values, institution and existence. But penultimately this cannot be realized in practice without pain, without the prophetically new colliding with the sacred old.

The next twenty-five years will see the emergence of a new principle of relative equilibrium in the Church as the seeds planted by the Council bear fruit. The new model of the Church as a pilgrim and fraternal community serving the world will become dominant. It is not a matter of re-inventing the Church as though it had no history, but of recognizing that the tradition is much wider and richer than we had supposed. The Pilgrim Church has an unfinished quality, it knows that it is still in the making, and that the possibilities are more open-ended than most people thought ten years ago. But if they are to be realized, crippling timidity must be abandoned. As the psychiatrist Dr. Jack Dominian has written: “If I were asked to point to one psychological reason why the hopes of Vatican II are so slow to develop, I would suggest that the retardation occurs at all levels when authority has been challenged legitimately and validly but has not had the psychological resources or insight to cope, and has retreated either in evasion, postponement or repression.” One inevitably thinks, in contrast, of Pope John XXIII who used to find sleep at night with the thought, “Relax, Angelo,

it's not you who runs the Church, but the Holy Spirit."

It is fitting to end with the memory of Pope John who launched the Church on the path of the Council without living to see where it might lead. He summoned the Council because he believed that the Church's problems could only be solved with the collaboration of the whole Church, recognizing that "it takes many to be intelligent." We have no means of knowing what he would have thought of subsequent developments, except that, having seen the harm done by repression, he would have avoided it. One of his favorite texts was Joseph's disclosure of his identity to his brothers: "I am Joseph, your brother" (Genesis 45, 4). Pope John made this text his own when speaking to socialists, to Jewish leaders, to prisoners in the Ara Coeli prison and to mankind generally. His listeners were delighted and surprised that a Pope should step down, like Joseph, from his throne and overflow his official role. They expected to meet a pontiff and they met a brother.

In Pope John the big abstract words like dialogue, openness and brotherhood came alive, and the world hoped again. To speak of the Church is to speak of hope, for the man who does not know hope, does not know God and his promises. Through the present crisis the Church is being tested and purified. Erik Erikson's positive interpretation of crisis applies with precision to the last decade of the Church. "Crisis," he says "is . . . not a threat of catastrophe, but a turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential." The evidence of the Church's vulnerability should not blind us to its potentiality. And Erikson's definition of crisis can be seen as secular transposition of the death and resurrection of Christ. In his Passion he becomes vulnerable, yet through this experience the power of the resurrection is released upon the world. In this way he becomes "the first of a long line of brothers" (Romans 8,29). The Church exists to keep alive that all-encompassing truth.

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## BRAZIL: THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

RALPH DELLA CAVA

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### The rule of force still prevails over the rule of law

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Five years ago, I argued in *Commonweal* [April 24, 1970] that the Brazilian "Revolution of 1964" had transformed torture and other repressive methods into an instrument of national policy. I also insisted that Brazil's military rulers had systematically deployed those measures for the prime purpose of silencing civilian opposition and only incidentally for routing scattered urban terrorists, then more prominent in newspaper headlines than in reality.

Several weeks ago, the suspicious death of a Brazilian TV news editor, journalist and professor confirmed that the rule of force still prevails over the rule of law. It also cast doubt on whether recent efforts for a limited return to civil liberties are still workable.

On the morning of October 25, Vladimir Herzog voluntarily appeared for questioning at the headquarters of Brazil's Second Army in São Paulo. Ten hours later, military interrogators asserted he had hung himself in his cell after tearing up an admittedly illegibly signed confession to purported membership in Brazil's outlawed Communist party. The next day, the army released his corpse in a sealed coffin, barred it from public and family view and, after rejecting his widow's appeal

for an autopsy, ordered it buried with haste.

Shocked and indignant, the Journalists Union to which Herzog belonged convened in permanent session until federal spokesmen finally pledged to open an inquiry into his death and Second Army officers guaranteed the physical safety of ten other recently imprisoned journalists. In solidarity, some 30,000 students and professors from the University of São Paulo and the Catholic Pontifical University struck for a week, calling attention to the fate of 85 additional political prisoners. Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders conducted an ecumenical memorial service in the Archdiocesan Cathedral which 8,000 mourners attended, first skirting a government-abetted traffic jam on their way in, then dodging innumerable police cameras on their way out. Not since mid-1968 when hundreds of thousands of marchers peaceably demonstrated in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro—and were beaten, gassed and shot at—had civilians dared brave the military in such a spontaneous indictment of arbitrary rule, and a massive outpouring in defense of human rights.

The roots of the Herzog affair lie in the widening division between hardliners and moderates within Brazil's ruling military elite. At issue is whether civilians should be accorded a share in the policy, and if so, how much.

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The hardliners' response is a matter of record. Their repression of "subversives" after 1964, their dismantling of voluntary associations, and their brutal campaign against urban guerrillas between 1968 and 1970 are well documented. So too is their systematic enforcement of "labor peace" and silencing of intellectual dissent that made industrial São Paulo the motor force of the "economic miracle"—much to the pleasure and profits of national and multinational investors. Not surprising either is the ensuing growth and concentration of hardliners' power—chiefly but by no means exclusively—within the security apparatuses of the São Paulo-based Second Army.

The moderates, for their part, share the hardliners' abhorrence of "subversion" and have no intention of yielding much power to civilians. They believe foremost in the military's urgent mission to achieve Brazil's greatness within this century. In the race against time, however, they would extend a limited partnership to civilians schooled in technological skills and patriotism (hence the enormous funding for graduate programs and literacy campaigns, of late).

Led by General Ernesto Geisel, inaugurated in March 1974 as Brazil's fourth "Revolutionary" President, the moderates accordingly embarked on a policy of "decompressing" sources of past military-civilian tension. Aware of hardline hostility, Geisel chose a middle course. He eased up but didn't abolish press censorship; a year ago, he promoted free elections, but recently set the limits of public criticism; finally he has courted churchmen, intellectuals, students and exiles, but has failed to legally redress the wrongs which his predecessors inflicted on so many of them over the past eleven years. Welcome as Geisel's policy of "decompression" may have been, it should obviously not be confused with "redemocratization," as some observers have concluded.

#### *Moderates' Policy*

More and more "decompression" seems intimately related to the very survival of military rule by moderates. Since mid-1974 the moderates' policy has aimed to neutralize two potentially disturbing threats to Geisel's remaining tenure. One, the much publicized "economic miracle"—that 11 percent annual growth rate which became the regime's showcase for four consecutive years—was acknowledged to be heading for trouble. With the worldwide recession of 1974, Brazil's inflation skyrocketed, creditors called in their debts and Arab oil prices rose astronomically. For the middle class, the future spells decreased mobility and a declining standard of living. To offset their alienation (and defuse potential threats to military rule), the moderates promoted their controlled return to limited liberties and at the same time implied that further cuts in real wages—which

fell about 30 to 38 percent between 1960 and 1970—would be borne as usual on the already burdened backs of rural and urban workers. Thus, decompression's first objective was to recast class politics to combat the depressed Brazilian economy.

The other threat came from the hardline security forces. Judging Geisel's candidacy to signify a reduction of their own power to affect military policy, hardliners independently stepped up sporadic purges in a show of strength. Moreover, they boldly maintained ties to several champions of private industry whom the moderates, favoring state control of the economy, view suspiciously and had barred from key political offices, especially in São Paulo.

Significantly, the well-disciplined security apparatuses at the local level have seized considerable autonomy from the military high command in Brasília. For over a year, it has been an open secret that the Second Army in São Paulo "answers to no one." Obviously, the loss of military control over Brazil's largest industrial center is tantamount to losing political and economic grip over Brazil.

This will explain why the moderates attempted to rally massive popular support, why, for example, they permitted the opposition *Movimento Democrático Brasileiro* party to win their impressive victory in 1974. It was widely assumed that the moderates were preparing for a showdown with "the army within the army."

But the showdown never came. For want of nerve, desire, power, or time—it is impossible to determine from here—Geisel has yet to dismantle the local security apparatuses. Moreover, his failure to strike first may put his remaining tenure in jeopardy, just as the enduring autonomy of the Second Army proved a key element in the Herzog case. Indeed, since early 1975 hardliners have arrogantly responded to civilian inquiries about the fate of political prisoners with new reprisals against "subversives." Old-line Brazilian Communists, whose conservatism in the sixties erected as much a bulwark against urban guerrillas as the arms of the military, are now the prime targets.

Fear of the Portuguese revolution partially explains the recent anti-Communist witchhunts. As one hardline officer declared recently: "War is war and we are at war. Moreover, we are not going to let them make a Portugal . . . of Brazil. . . ." More decisive perhaps is the hardline commitment to purge Communists and other critics of government policy from the mass media, centered in São Paulo.

The press purge, however, appears to have a more direct political target, namely the present civilian governor of São Paulo, Geisel's handpicked appointee. If hardliners can make the Communist charge stick on journalists like Herzog who were recently hired by state-financed entities, then—according to an authoritative source—civilian allies of the moderates can be

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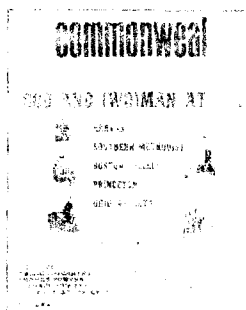
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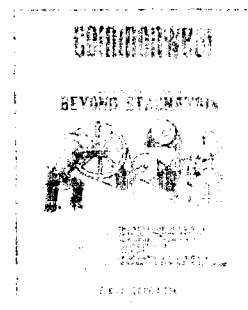
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more easily discredited by "red-baiting," if not entirely removed from office.

Might the press purge also be anti-Semitic? Herzog, like an unusually high number of recently arrested journalists, was a Jew. Was that purely a coincidence or did it signify unwillingness in high quarters to brook any resistance—real or imagined—to oil-dependent Brazil's recent courting of Arab powers?

#### *Catholic Church's Position*

One last area of inquiry merits consideration: what has been the position of the Roman Catholic Church in recent events?

As on many other vital questions, the Brazilian church was divided over the Herzog case. The Cardinal Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro canceled a requiem mass at the last moment because the deceased was not a Catholic.

In contrast, São Paulo's Archbishop, Paulo Evaristo Cardinal Arns, offered his cathedral for the ecumenical memorial service. He also was the prime mover last All Saints' Day behind the collective denunciation by the bishops of São Paulo State of the growing desecration of human rights in Brazil. Moreover, his pointed homily about the fifth commandment publicly implied that military accounts of the 38-year-old's suicide are patently unreliable.

Dom Evaristo's stance before Herzog's putative murder and almost certain suicide is borne of bitter struggle. In the past, the church protected only its own from military outrages. But when it recognized how powerless it in fact was, the church grew swiftly in wisdom and grace. Under Dom Evaristo, it publicly shielded the Indians of Goiás from the land speculators and those of the Amazons from mineral grubbers; in the industrial centers of the nation, it has stood up for a just wage and the right to organize. Since the beginning of 1975—much to the moderates' consternation—the church incessantly denounced the new waves of torture and repression, regardless of the victims' religious or political identifications.

In proclaiming last November 14 a day of fast throughout São Paulo in defense of human rights, Dom Evaristo has certainly won the church more enemies among the generals and their capitalist wizards. Indeed their policies can find neither solace nor legitimation in the Cardinal Archbishop, a Franciscan monk until his elevation in 1969, who uncompromisingly adheres to the belief in universal brotherhood preached by his order's founder: in defending the human rights of Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Marxists, Dom Evaristo proclaims the essential humanity of them all. Perhaps his actions may even signal the forging of a common front—similar in many respects to that of the Italian partisans in 1945—and usher in a new phase in the Brazilian struggle against the rule of force and on behalf of human rights.

#### INDIAN SUMMER

## THE SCREEN

Satyajit Ray's *Distant Thunder* is about the 1942 rice famine in India which killed millions of people. Its horror was all the greater, too, because it was an unnecessary famine. The crops didn't fail in Asia that year. The exigencies of the world war and the Japanese occupation of Singapore and Burma just kept the rice from getting into the hands of the Indian people. It was, as a brief epilogue to Ray's film points out, the first man-made famine in human history. It was also, in terms of the sheer number of victims, an atrocity second only to the Nazi extermination of the Jews. Yet the remarkable thing about Ray's film is that in it the dimensions of the atrocity are not apparent. Ray is not trying to awe us with what happened, and its full realization remains in his film only a kind of "distant thunder," as his title aptly puts it.

The reason for this is that Ray thinks he can dramatize history here all the better by keeping some distance from it. The famine really is Ray's subject, not just a backdrop for the story of his two central characters, Gangacharan, a village Brahmin, and his wife Ananga. But as the film begins, the thunder of that famine is as distant as the drone of fighter planes which, passing high overhead, momentarily attract the uncomprehending attention of the villagers. What is of far more interest to us in this opening scene is the open, upturned hand of Ananga trailing in the river and weakly, almost absently, splashing at the water that the river's current carries through it. This close-up of Ananga's hand is in fact the first human image we get in the film, and it is from this sort of idle, incidental detail of everyday living that Ray builds up his story of famine.

Since great devastation like a famine is nothing but a fantasy to Americans, the characters in our own recent disaster films tend to be fantastic, an assortment of saints, martyrs and sacrificial lambs. The striking thing about Ganga and Ananga is that they aren't like this. On the contrary, they are so human a couple that they seem even to be dislikable in some ways. During the first part of the film especially, it seems to be their foibles, weaknesses and petty larcenies that Ray is dwelling on. For one thing, Ganga is a bit of a charlatan. He parlays his position as his village's only Brahmin into a whole variety of jobs—priest, school teacher, etc.—and when he is asked to ward off cholera, he goes through hierophantic rituals and incantations to increase his fee while actually hoping to prevent the epidemic with a few hygiene rules gleaned from a pamphlet. Ganga also frets a bit over his status

in the community, and mumbles sanskrit at illiterate villagers in order to impress them.

Being more ignorant and innocent than her husband, Ananga is less suspicious and more charitable when trouble comes. When an old man comes begging at their door because the soaring price of rice in his province has made him destitute, Ananga intercedes in his behalf to get her husband to take him in. But Ananga isn't without her own folly and snobbishness either. When friends take her into the jungle to share a cache of wild potato they know about, she complains all the way because of the brambles they must tread to get there. And then, while her friends do the digging to get out the enormous potato they are all to eat, she wanders off to pick a sweet little blue flower she sees nearby.

I think that the reason Ray presents his characters in this somewhat unkind way is twofold. On the one hand, he doesn't want us to sympathize with them too much. It is the famine he is trying to dramatize here, and to a certain extent he wants us to feel for his characters in spite of their personal qualities rather than because of them. The point is that it is a terrible thing for anyone to be the victim of such a catastrophe whether we like him or not, and Ray doesn't want us to like or idealize his characters so much that we lose sight of this.

On the other hand, though, almost all of Ganga's and Ananga's vices are easily forgivable ones. As the famine begins to touch their own lives, their concern for each other is so profound that we become incapable of thinking ill of them, and any pretentiousness or false pride we may have sensed before melts away. Although Ganga at first worries because he doesn't want to lose face doing work that's beneath his caste to get food, at the end of the film, when things are getting much worse and someone finally dies of hunger, he himself undertakes the burial without a second thought even though the person is an Untouchable. Likewise, when the old man Ganga would have turned away also returns at the end, this time with a half-dozen starving relatives, Ganga takes them in without hesitation. One might even go so far as to say that there is an extraordinary consistency in Ganga's personality before and after the famine strikes. Neither he nor Ananga change abruptly or become demented by the hunger and degradation of it all. On the contrary, the famine only reveals resources of their character that we did not earlier suspect.

What this continuity of character, this adaptability to tragedy, makes us mindful of is how perilously close to the edge these people have been even in the best of times. They can make the transition without having their values and emotions destroyed, as you and I might, because it is not that far for them to go. Their existence has always been marginal at best. The culture of the Brahmin, like the agriculture of the peasant on whom he depends, is never more than a subsistence living. Thus

Ray's film makes us feel that the great tragedy here is how little a change famine represents—how small a difference there is between surviving and starving. *This* is why Ray has made his film about only the first stages of the famine rather than its ghastly final consequences: because the real pity of it is to be seen in how easily, how imperceptibly, a whole civilization can cross the line from sufficiency to insufficiency.

In effect the conditions of Ganga's and Ananga's existence are embodied in that fragile blue flower she picks while her friends dig—in it and all the other images of beautiful, febrile things that occur and re-occur throughout Ray's film. One of them, along with images of grass and tree roots and dragonflies and lizards that punctuate the film, is an image of two butterflies perched in the mud, their wings fluttering listlessly, no longer able, it seems, to lift them off the ground. It is the sort of image which, when it occurs in our movies, as it so often does, is being used to romanticize, to inflate and exaggerate something that is already sentimental enough. Ray is using it in the opposite way: to bring down in scale, and thus to humanize, an historical event so pitiless and abstract that most of us cannot grasp it in individual terms at all.

Among the many small and feeble images like this that occur in the film, perhaps the central one is the one with which the film begins, Ananga's hand. Its open and upturned posture makes it at once both a hand offered in salutation, which is to say, in a gesture of civility, and a hand extended in pleading, which is to say, in a gesture signifying the collapse of all civility. Like the butterflies, this figure of a hand also reappears throughout the film, though the hand changes and transforms itself each time. From Ananga's hand lying in relaxation in the water at the beginning, it becomes at the end Ganga's hand lifting up the arm of the Untouchable, dead from starvation, whom he must now bury.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.



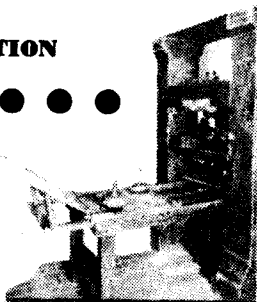
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### **DISPLAYED**

The tongue of the stuffed bobcat  
dries inwardly,  
in flyless cavern of fang and tooth.  
It snarls in death.  
Hate rivets glass-yellow eyes  
to a point on the far wall  
fixing a victim or attacker.  
We focus in ferocity for an instant  
then move on by its limited direction.

## THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION

# PRESS



An important question was overlooked—even willfully ignored—in the furor which followed the UN's passage November 10 of a resolution declaring Zionism "a form of racism." That question is: why did the Arab states sponsor the resolution in the first place, and what did they mean by it?

Far from dealing with that question, which ought to have been central, the press followed the lead of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the U.S. ambassador to the UN, who said the United States "does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act." Like Moynihan, it was not the act which journalists addressed, but the infamy. The result was a three-day riot of recrimination, a nearly unanimous din of vituperation, name-calling and outright slander. Hysterical is not too strong a word for it. You would think Martin Bormann had entered the delegate's lounge with the Russian ambassador on one arm, and Arafat on the other.

The New York *Daily News*, for example, called the UN "a cesspool of malice, ignorance and prejudice." The *Washington Post* dismissed the General Assembly as "irrelevant" and attacked it for encouraging "primitive anti-Semitism." The *New York Times* denounced the "unholy alliance" of Arab and Communist nations in the voting, blamed the Communist support on "their endemic anti-Semitism," and described the 72 nations which voted for this "odious resolution" as a "foul parade." In a similar spirit, Anthony Lewis in the *Times* said "plain old anti-Semitism" was "one reason" for the resolution. (Was it possible that "another reason" was Arab rejection of Israel's right to exclude Palestinians from Palestine? No. The other reason was . . . the American bombing of Cambodia. Lewis is an intelligent fellow and he made this apparent *non sequitur* sound sort of plausible. Sort of.)

But the strongest reaction of all came from Russell Baker. It is hard to describe the tone of Baker's article, and still harder to explain it. His sense of humor does not often fail him, but this was one of the times. He began by saying, "Hitler must have had a good laugh down in Hell this week when the United Nations General Assembly formally endorsed anti-Semitism by a large majority." He reminded us of the Hitler-Stalin pact, noted that "here they were together again, swastika and sickle"; affected a mild surprise at "the Russians

. . . crawling into bed with Hitler again," and then zeroed in on Soviet duplicity even though "criticizing (the Soviet government) would be as pointless as criticizing a dinosaur afloat in mud."

What can he have in mind, I found myself wondering. Why shouldn't dinosaurs float in mud? Can it be that mud is . . . carcinogenic?

For that matter, what did any of them have in mind? Not just the columnists and editorialists cited here, but all the others who echoed their righteous anger and sputtering outrage? It is one thing to oppose the anti-Zionist resolution as provocative or pointless, quite another to attack its authors as murderous anti-Semites, summoning up wild visions of Hitler, new pogroms, a resurrection of the spirit of Buchenwald. Part of this rhetorical excess can be explained by the resolution's passage on the 47th anniversary of Kristalnacht, and another part by the word "racist" itself. No people have suffered more from racism than Jews; it is the history of the Jews, in fact, which gives the word its most horrific connotations. Whatever the Zionists may have done, Deir Yassin to the contrary notwithstanding, Zionism is not, it is not even a second cousin of "racism" of the naked, Nazi sort.

But that still does not fully explain the heated reaction to the UN's anti-Zionism resolution. The rest of the explanation, the part which most concerns me here, stems from something more immediate, not an uneasy conscience exactly (since Americans are hardly to blame for the awful situation in the Middle East), but something quite like it: an instinctive, unexamined and largely unadmitted reluctance to view the Arab-Israeli conflict, even for a moment, through Arab eyes.

This brings me back to the central question with which I began: why did the Arab states sponsor the Zionism resolution in the first place, and what did they mean by it?

The question of the Palestinians, and of their displacement in Palestine by European and Arab Jews, is one of the most complex in modern history, as well as one of the most sensitive. It is at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict; it is, in fact, what the conflict is *about*. Of course a great many other issues divide the two peoples, but every last one of them might be resolved without bringing peace, so long as the Palestinian question remained open. There is no simple solution to the problem—there may be no solution at all—but no useful purpose is served by denying, distorting, or ignoring it.

In the Arab view Israel is a racist state because its immigration and internal policies are exclusionary, and the people who are principally excluded are Arabs, and especially Palestinian Arabs. When I was in the Middle East last spring, I was asked repeatedly if I thought it just that any Jew in the world might become an Israeli citizen under the Law of Return, while Palestinians who

had been born in Jerusalem or Haifa or Beersheba, whose families had lived there for centuries, were excluded? Israeli Arabs who are citizens (about 440,000 of them) are not discriminated against legally (except in the sense that they are not subject to the draft) but they do suffer in other ways. They find it harder to get jobs and housing and higher education. (No Israeli university uses Arabic as a language of instruction, for example.) More importantly, Arab land has been expropriated in some parts of the country, most recently the Galilee region, in order to make room for Jewish settlements. Arab polemicists can extend the list of discriminatory practices, and while the wrongs charged are hardly on a level with what the Nazis did to the Jews, they are at least the sort of thing which has been called "racist" discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York, or Japanese and Mexican-Americans in California, or West Indians in England, Algerians in France.

Not only is Israel "racist" now, in the Arab view, but it is the result of a conscious "racist" conspiracy to displace one people, namely the Palestinians, by another, namely the Jews. At the very beginning of the Zionist experiment, in 1896, Theodore Herzl called Palestine "a land without people for a people without land," as if the local Arab population were invisible. Within 50 years it was: by the end of the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948-49 the Jewish population of Israel was around a million, up from a few thousand in 1880, while the Arab population was down to 150,000, from over a million. The Arabs say that the stated Zionist goal of a national home for the Jews, "as Jewish as France is French"; the steady expansion of territory controlled by Jews, and the displacement of the Arab population all speak for themselves, and what they say, in a word, is "racism." You may not think this, but the Arabs do.

When the Arab states sponsored the anti-Zionism resolution in the UN they were not simply trying to provoke the Israelis, mend local fences, spit in the eye of the United States and let off steam: they were trying to explain why this issue is so important to them. They fought for a public declaration of the "racist" nature of Zionism because that's what they think it is. No devious motives are necessary to explain the resolution. The Arabs weren't getting into bed with Hitler, or encouraging primitive anti-Semitism, or leading a foul parade, or joining an unholy alliance, or floating in mud with the Soviet Union, or anything else of the sort: they were expressing their position, and they deserved better than hysterical countercharges in response.

If we were talking about Argentine-British disagreement over the Falkland Islands it might not matter so much if the position of one side or the other were distorted in a sudden swelling of partisan emotion. But the Arab-Israeli conflict is not narrow and local, and it won't simply go away. The fact that it has already

lasted for at least 50 years ought to tell us the dispute is over matters of substance. Why do we imagine the Arabs have been so single-minded and persistent in their hostility to Zionism? Do we really think it has been for shallow or frivolous or merely splenetic reasons? Common sense alone ought to tell us there must be more to it than that, but American journalists continue to slight or ignore the Arab position. For some reason—or rather, for too many reasons to go into here—the American press is more than half-ready to believe the Arabs are anti-Semitic, but explodes in outrage at a suggestion the Jews may be anti-Arab.

The truth of the matter is that both sides are guilty in this regard, which is just what you would expect after four wars in 30 years. Violence has taught Arabs and Jews to dislike each other, but their mutual dislike—or prejudice, if you will; or "racism"—is almost by the way. It is far from explaining the intractability of the conflict. That is the result of the struggle of two peoples for one piece of land: the Jews live where Palestinian Arabs used to live, the Palestinian Arabs want to go back, and a lot of other Arabs sympathize with them. That is not all there is to the conflict, but it is the part most difficult of resolution, it is the part which arouses the strongest emotions, and it is the part which explains why the Arab states sponsored the anti-Zionism resolution, and why the American press reacted as it did.

I take that reaction as a sign of friendliness to Israel, but it seems to me a misplaced and misguided sort of friendliness. In the first place, it is lame. In Mark Twain's view the lamest possible answer to an insult, the dimmest, spindliest rejoinder was to set your jaw and say, "You're another!" The Israelis had better start packing their bags if that's the best their friends can do by way of defense.

The proper way to answer a charge of racism is not to ignore the facts behind the charge—in this case, the fact of Palestinian displacement—but to explain why they do not constitute racism. In fact, Israel does not exclude Arabs because they are Arabs; it includes Jews because they are Jews. Most Arabs probably see that as a sophistry, a distinction without a difference, but I don't. In the same way, Israeli discrimination against Arabs (which most Israelis acknowledge, regret and to some extent try to overcome) is sweet benevolence compared to Syria's treatment of the Jews in Damascus and Aleppo. Far from being a racist conspiracy, Zionism is a history of failed attempts to reconcile Arab and Jew, or, failing that, somehow to divide the country in an equitable manner. Jews, after all, accepted the UN's partition plan of 1947, which would have given the Palestinians far more than the West Bank state some of them are willing to settle for now.

And so on. For every argument there is a counter-argument. The arguments may not settle things but at least they substitute light for heat, and they are better

than name-calling. Where the Middle East is concerned nothing will *settle* things. The best that can be hoped for is a recognition of the depth of feeling on both sides, of the conflict's tragic and complex history, of the terrible irony that the Jews of Israel, far from having found a safe home, are more threatened than ever; and of the

bitter resentment of the Palestinian Arabs, who have had to pay the price of European anti-Semitism. There has been injustice enough to go around in the Middle East. There are no frivolous belligerents there, no Hitlers. Such charges only deepen the hostility and misunderstanding.

THOMAS POWERS

In many ways the thought of Arnold Toynbee, who died on Oct. 22, seems strangely out of place in the twentieth century. While scholars in the various disciplines have been carving out still narrower areas of specialization, Toynbee chose to write a universal history. In an age of intellectual fragmentation he suggested a comprehensive meaning behind the facts of history. In an era that strives for knowledge according to standards set by science, much of Toynbee's history was rooted in poetry and prophecy. In a secular age he saw religion as the principal goal of life and the essential concern of the historian. Although he disclaimed the role of prophet, like the ancient Hebrew prophets, Toynbee, in a time of social distress and moral confusion, exhorted man to find certainty in God's truth. Like them he warned that when man forgets God and worships idols he brings disaster upon himself and the social order.

For Toynbee the most pernicious form of idol worship engaged in by modern man has been nationalism, the glorification of the nation state. The deification of the parochial community at the expense of mankind, he wrote, is the "political counterpart of polytheistic idolatry—the monstrous 'association' of false gods with God." Like St. Paul, Toynbee held that the oneness of God necessitates the unity of mankind. His vision of a *union sacrée*—a brotherhood of man knit together by the fatherhood of God—contains no small amount of biblical utopianism. For both Toynbee and the prophets history is filled with spiritual meaning; it is the arena in which man's will

## LEGACY OF ARNOLD TOYNBEE

MARVIN PERRY



clashes with God's commands. Consequently Toynbee regarded the vocation of the historian as "ultimately a quest for the vision of God at work in history." Like St. Augustine who wrote in the twilight of Graeco-Roman rationalism, Toynbee, intensely aware of the fragility of his own civilization, insisted that reason without the guidance of spiritual values will fail man. For both Augustine and Toynbee humanist rationalism unto itself is insufficient.

Such an orientation had to arouse strong reactions. Critics ridiculed as metahistory Toynbee's religious worldview, attacked him for using myths and poetry as historical proofs, and denounced his central idea that the West suffered a moral failure when it abandoned its Christian heritage for secularism. Some critics with unrestrained fury accused Toynbee of conceiving himself as a messiah and of writing not history but a bible or at least a modern-day version of the *City of God*, a twentieth-century warning to sinful secularists. For these reasons one historian concluded that *A Study of History* will "be only a curiosity in 20 or 30 years."

I think not. Conceived at a time when Western civilization seemed near collapse, the *Study* is, as Hans Kohn observed, "a tract for our own age and its predicament, . . . a witness to the

time of our life and its problems, and as such it will remain of enduring interest to all future historians." Shattered by the senseless slaughter of World War I, Toynbee became disillusioned with the forces of Western civilization hitherto considered progressive—liberalism, secularism, technology, and above all, nationalism. He feared that the West showed signs of being caught in the same rhythm of breakdown and disintegration that had ruined other civilizations. Toynbee found the origins of the West's spiritual crisis in the disintegration of medieval religious unity and the transformation of the West from a Christian into a post-Christian civilization. Devoid of its Christian soul, he said, the modern West was a revival of Hellenism, a secular civilization that broke down because it overvalued man's creations. The world wars and totalitarianism he regarded as the terrible fulfillment of this apostasy from Christianity. Western man's "abandonment of his allegiance to a saving higher religion in order to go a whoring after a mundane civilization," he concluded, "wore the aspect of a second Fall."

Only through spirituality and universalism can mankind preserve itself and the individual fulfill himself—this is the essence of Toynbee's thought. Because liberalism had dispensed with

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Christian love and the Christian precept that man's liberty comes from God's grace, said Toynbee, it was too selfish and competitive to preserve the sacrosanctity of human personality; because the rationalism of the Enlightenment was spiritually empty, it could not contain the brutal and irrational side of human nature which manifests itself in wars between nations and struggles between classes. To be effective, he held, liberal humanism must draw inspiration from religious prophets who have taught the presence of God, the dignity of man, the unity of humanity and communion with Absolute Reality as the true purpose of life.

Like Thomas Aquinas, Toynbee sought a creative synthesis between the achievements of Athens and Jerusalem. But unlike Thomas, Toynbee was a pluralist who held that all the higher religions are partial revelations of God's truth. If we reject the prophetic ideals of higher religions, warned Toynbee, we shall continue to pursue false gods whose power to wreck civilization has

been often demonstrated. It is an axiom of Toynbee's thought that if man is deprived of higher religions that stress love and compassion, he will embrace lower religions that promote conflict and distort personality. Who could deny his insight that man's religious sentiments have not been eradicated but have been rerouted into the cult of the state, the cult of the race, the cult of the leader, the cult of the party, the cult of the machine?

Even if one regards Toynbee's theology as an unsatisfactory approach to interpreting the past, indeed as a regression to myth, and rejects his call for a return to God as a futile way of coping with the maladies that have afflicted the West in the twentieth century, he still remains an historian of stature. No other historian in our century has thought so spaciouly about the past, has transcended the analytical approach of the specialist to give such broad meaning to the human experience. With the curiosity and cosmopolitanism of a Polybius he studied all the civiliza-

tions of the world living and dead, an investigation that led him to champion a world-state. "Mankind must become one family or destroy itself," he insisted. If our world does become increasingly more unified, Toynbee will be heralded for his advocacy of ecumenicalism.

Perhaps the ultimate significance of Toynbee is that he forces us to confront the problem of reason. Toynbee wanted to rescue personality and feelings from reason, which, in its relentless drive to make everything intelligible, degenerates into soulless mechanism, materialism and technocracy. Because science can reduce man to a cipher in a mechanized universe, he asserted, it cannot satisfy man's elemental need to preserve and express his personality. This is achieved through poetry, art, music, and above all, through religion. In an age that has seen reason and optimism soar and collapse Toynbee raised the essential questions. For this reason alone, even if we reject his conclusions, his work is worthy of study and respect.

## BOOKS

# THE STUFF OF FICTIONAL HISTORY

LEONARD KRIEGLER

### *Ragtime*

E. L. DOCTOROW

Random House, \$8.95

*Ragtime* is one of those novels which demand a discussion of the relationship of money and art. Most of the conversations I have heard about the novel inevitably come down to rumors about the sum Doctorow will ultimately receive for the paperback rights. This kind of thing is rather puzzling, even in the literary world. Doctorow, after all, is no Jacqueline Susann nor is *Ragtime* a manufactured best-seller like *Jaws*. He is, rather, one of the best novelists writing in America today. As for all that money, it's nice

to see one of the truly talented writers winning for a change.

The question of whether or not *Ragtime* is worth the sum Bantam is reputed to have paid for it can only be answered by how large an audience the paperback version captures. It is doing quite well in hardcover, which may indicate that the serious reading public in this country really is growing. As I write this, the book is number one on the best-seller list and has been on that list for seven weeks. What is perhaps even more noteworthy is that *Ragtime* has received stunning reviews everywhere from *The Village Voice* to *Women's Wear Daily*. And for this time, at least, the critics seem to have called the tune for the public.

*Ragtime* is not a "masterpiece" but it is a brilliantly written novel, one that manages to be thoroughly enjoyable and thoroughly serious. And it brings to wider public attention a novelist who has already written two first-rate books, *Welcome to Hard Times* (which Random House has reissued along with *Ragtime*) and *The Book of Daniel*, which is both Doctorow's best novel and the finest political novel written by an American during the much-politicized Sixties.

Both *The Book of Daniel* and *Welcome to Hard Times* make connections between past and present—the one in terms of how political legacies dominate the present that must be lived through, the other in terms of how

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violence and hope are linked in this country. What Doctorow attempts in *Ragtime* is to re-create history through the novel. Unlike the historical novelist, however, he does not deal with a past that time has already mythicized. Not the Middle Ages, not even the American Revolution—no, what Doctorow has chosen is America at the turn of the century, the east of the west he gave us in *Welcome to Hard Times*. It is a period which he obviously sees as the crucible of our own America, and yet he takes the reader into a country as different from ours as day is from night. This is perhaps the last American nation to believe in itself absolutely, its sense of mission combined with an innocent virtue. Only in such a time could Doctorow have woven the lives of his main characters, cast into the world as Mother and Father and Tateh and Mameh and Coalhouse Walker Jr., into the lives of those who are crucial to our history, who are named Henry Ford and Harry Houdini, J. P. Morgan and Emma Goldman. Logically, this is the kind of novel that should focus on the lives of its fictional characters, interrupting the narration only as Dos Passos did in the biographical sections of *USA*.

What Doctorow manages to do, however, is even more intriguing. In Dos Passos's great trilogy, the biographical is used as a counterweight to the fictional. In Doctorow, the stuff of J. P. Morgan is, indeed, the stuff of fictional life. Few scenes by a contemporary novelist match the perverse humor with which Doctorow brings together J. P. Morgan and Henry Ford in *Ragtime*. And few more severe indictments of the "great businessman" figure in our history have been created.

From the very first sentence—"In 1902 Father built a house at the crest of the Broadview Avenue Hill in New Rochelle, New York"—to the ex-socialist Tateh's culminating vision of his daughter, his adopted son, and his black ward playing together in California, a scene in which the vision embodied in socialism is replaced by the vision of an *Our Gang* film, Doc-

torow manipulates history to serve the demands of the personal. And his success is particularly notable. Dos Passos used history; Doctorow naturalizes it. The lives of the common and the uncommon are stitched together. But if this is the great success of *Ragtime*, it is also the book's chief weakness. The novel is dominated by its surface. It lacks depth, in much the same way as the music from which it derives its title lacks depth. In a novel in which surface counts for so much, the reader suspects that there is something vital underneath. But perhaps there isn't. In *Ragtime*, the reader discovers Doctorow's language, sharp, rhythmic, vitally energetic. He discovers a joyous humor which makes the novel difficult to put down. The scene in which Mother's Younger Brother hides in the closet while Emma Goldman massages the murdered Stanford White's ex-mistress, Evelyn Nesbit, is a magnificent example of what Doctorow is capable of.

But this reader, at least, did not get beyond that. In *Ragtime*, there is suffering made history and there is joy made history. But at no time did I feel that either the suffering or the joy were individualized. None of these people—not Mother, not Father, not Younger Brother, not Tateh, not even the Negro Musician, Coalhouse Walker, whose desire to avenge himself upon the white world springs from his incredibly moral sense of having been wronged—succeeds in arousing one's sympathy. When Coalhouse is murdered by the New York police, the reaction of the reader is neutralized by that brilliant surface. The characters live and die as part of the history that embodies them. But they do not live in the fiction.

It is quite possible that this was part of Doctorow's strategy in writing the



#### REVIEWERS

LEONARD KRIEGLER is the author of *Working Through: A Teacher's Journey in an Urban University*.

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novel. Perhaps our fiction, like our lives, suffers from an excess of the individual. No one, certainly, can accuse Doctorow of dehumanizing his characters. If anything, he is to be praised for the deft artistry with which he brings to life those whose claim is that they were larger than life. In certain cases, most notably with Houdini and Emma Goldman, what emerges is more human, more fundamental, than what a biographer could capture. In others, such as J. P. Morgan, the character embodies what the man has come to represent in history—the rapaciousness of a capitalism which knows no bounds, the self-aggrandizing mysticism that cloaks power at its most primitive.

*Ragtime* may point toward a new direction for the American novel. For those who have come to feel that contemporary American fiction has created a strait jacket out of individuality, *Ragtime* is bound to be exciting reading. It is vibrant, it is exciting, and it is about America our grandfather.

#### **The Sexual Celibate**

DONALD GOERGEN

Seabury, \$8.95

JOHN N. KOTRE

Donald Goergen is an earnest, candid (in this book, almost naked) young man, a religious celibate writing for other religious celibates coming to grips with the meaning of their commitment. "It is not easy to write, nor present to the public, a book which contains many of my own personal experiences, spiritual struggles, and theological convictions. . . . My hope is that this book will contribute something simply by opening up intelligent discussion."

The key to Goergen's affirmation—and celebration—of sexuality in the celibate lies in his distinction between "sexual" and "genital." "Sexual" means that one is male or female (and, to some extent, a mixture of the two), that he or she is homosexual or heterosexual (often, a blend of both), that he or she is capable of affection and

procreation, that he or she seeks interpersonal love. "Genital" is a specific dimension of "sexual," referring to the interpersonal stimulation of sexual organs leading to orgasm. The religious celibate, in Goergen's view, ought to be sexual (*ought* misses the point: he or she simply *is*) but ought not to be genital.

I review this book as an outsider to the celibate community, one to whom Goergen is painstakingly fair. Again and again he tells me there is no theological basis for arguing that genital abstinence is intrinsically more Christian than genital intercourse. What matters, rather (and I must agree), is the extent to which each contributes to the humanization and spiritualization of man.

As an outsider, I merely note his

*The virgin certainly exemplifies a different way of understanding sexuality than the one which the culture supports. A culture which depends upon consumerism and advertising and which looks upon sexuality as a marketable commodity is not going to be a culture which is trying to promote a deeper appreciation of sexual life. It is a culture which uses the sexual for its own economic purposes.*

—The Sexual Celibate

practical advice to celibates: prospective candidates need not experience genital union in order to make their ensuing commitment meaningful (more than likely they will be exploiting a partner to gain the desired experience); homosexual feelings in celibates, as in all people, are not to be denied but felt—only then can they be dealt with realistically; masturbation is neither unhealthy nor immoral for the celibate, but it is something he ultimately wishes to grow beyond; celibates are to be intimate with others, and intimacy requires touch, but touch ought not to lead to genital stimulation. The advice is direct, down to earth, informed by the insights of modern psychology.

But why, I ask, is it necessary to write this book, to make all these dis-

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tinctions, to dole out all this advice? What is the struggle of which Goergen speaks?

I surmise that it results from the confluence of "liberated" secular culture with the tradition of celibacy in Roman Catholicism—a blend which, as matters stand now, has left that ancient tradition in a confused, downcast, introspective swirl. Bereft of a rationale for celibacy (it was carried away in the turbulence of the 1960s), priests and religious—in what numbers I do not know—experiment with the full gamut of sexual and genital behavior, some of them feeling a self-hate from incorporating *in toto* the sexual values of the "liberated" culture.

The trouble is that "liberated" secular culture is really not that liberated, that free of prejudice. AC/DC, gay,

swinging may now be beautiful, but our tolerance somehow leaves off at the rectory or convent door. So many of our eggs are in the basket of genital orgasm that someone who takes the radical (and threatening) position that their life is celibate *and* human, *sexually* human, is often dismissed as pathological. Moral he or she may be ("prudish" would be better), but hardly "normal" or "adjusted" or "fulfilled." Easier to close the door and project all kinds of emotional aberrations and mental rigidities onto the blank surface in front of us.

Written in a culture it knows to be "imperialistic" and hostile, *The Sexual Celibate* takes a vital first step in sketching a blueprint for the restoration of a tradition that says there is more to life than genital union, wonderful as that experience may be. It is only a *first* step: I found the style of the book to be choppy, awkward, disjointed. I found its effect flat. But Goergen did distill a good deal of theology and psychology, he did retain his common sense, and not once did he back off from taking a position. His attempt is important both to Roman Catholicism and to the pluralistic culture in which it is embedded.

One who is not celibate can draw from Goergen's summary of Judaeo-Christian attitudes toward sexuality. Augustine seems to have been the culprit in the West. Influenced by Neo-Platonism and Stoicism, he is the one who introduced into Christian thought the notion that physical pleasure is the enemy of man. His position is actually at odds with Scripture: Paul was cautiously though positive about sex; Jesus simply did not concern himself with it; so the most direct statements we have are found in the Old Testament writings of the Yahwist, who viewed the basic elements of sexuality as fellowship and goodness, and the author of the Song of Songs, who celebrated sexual pleasure quite apart from its role in procreation. "Your lips, my promised one, distill wild honey. Honey and milk are under your tongue; and the scent of your garments is like the scent of Lebanon." The erotic is cele-

brated in a relationship that is strong, ongoing, exclusive, and faithful.

Does celibacy belong in a tradition whose roots are so enthusiastic about genital pleasure? When "sexual" and "celibate" are juxtaposed in a title and intertwined in a theme, we are at least on the way to an answer that is both humane and religious.

## ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 611)

than you point out. Since your editorial was written, we have been informed of plans by the Postal Service—arbitrary and unilateral, requiring no Congressional or Postal Rate Commission approval—to increase special fees for special delivery letters, certified mail, address corrections and like fees by up to 150 per cent in November.

Clearly the Postal Service as a corporation has gotten out of hand. Just as clearly, return of postal matters to control by Congress seems the only good solution. We applaud your editorial statement of this position.

JAMES A. DOYLE  
Executive Director  
Catholic Press Association

Claremont, Calif.

*To the Editors:* I can't refrain from writing to commend *Commonweal* on its editorial in the issue of October 24 entitled "Postal Disservice." You are certainly correct that a monumental mistake was made in 1970 when the postal service was taken out of the hands of the government and put in the hands of a corporation seeking to make money. Now we face another increase in postage which is almost certain to cut down on the use of the mail probably resulting in a reduction in income and then I suppose they'll raise the rates again. Apparently it has never occurred to them they might lower them and receive so much increased business that they might make both ends meet financially in the way it really ought to be done.

JERRY VOORHIS

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### Religious Education

TIME CONSULTANTS' East Coast Conference for Religious Education, "Toward An American Catechesis." Shoreham American Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 27-29, 1976. Richard McBrien, Charles Curran, Marc Tanenbaum, James Carroll, Jose Hobday, The Dameans, many others. Complete Details available. Write: P.O. Box 652, Department "C," Severna Park, Maryland, 21146.

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**Abigail McCarthy (Cont.)**

Symbolism was not enough for a hard core of the marchers, who despite a ceremonious welcome in Wellington from leaders of both major parties, decided to camp on the steps of Parliament until action on the protest was taken. These militants seemed

to divide the marchers—an angry Mrs. Cooper called them a “disgrace to their race”—but they had support. To the practiced eye the process of radicalization was apparent and familiar. The issue had been dramatized; consciousness had been raised. “Yesterday I was just another mechanic, today I am a Maori,” said one Auckland man; a break with the past, in dissenting from the leadership of the elders, had been achieved. “A whole new protest style has blown up on the New Zealand scene,” wrote a parliamentary reporter. “Links with recent ‘hold-outs’ on American Indian reservations are apparent, and support has already been received from aboriginal groups in Australia.” David Ruru, the leader of the tent encampment, was reported to have lived for the past two years on an American Indian reservation and to have learned from the experience that “loss of land was loss of pride and dignity.”

Still, young Maori intellectuals who sympathized with the aims of the radicals were disturbed by the un-Maori use of black berets and the adoption of terms like “honky” and “Uncle Tom.” But it is not clear who originated the extremist rhetoric. James K. Baxter, New Zealand poet who ended his life trying to live as a brother among the poor Maori, interrupts lyrics to write about his friend Tom who was picked up “for the double crime of being out of work and being Maori.” A sergeant kicked the chair out from under him, called him “an illiterate black—” and said, “There should be a law to exterminate people like you.” We heard of an ill-conceived police task force deployed especially, it seemed to Maoris and Pacific Islanders, against them. The land issue is complicated by history, custom, treaty and law, but grievances, past and present, seem very real: according to *Press* writer Paul Hansley, Maori land has dwindled from 66,000,000 acres when the Europeans arrived to 2,500,000 today. “Despite the assertions of politicians for over 100 years, we are not one people and a young Maori feels completely out

of place in a European environment,” writes the Polynesian Advisory Committee.

Yet a foreign observer gets a very strong sense that New Zealanders, pakeha and Maori, are much farther along the way to one people than they know themselves. True, they are at a crucial point in their interracial development, but they are a peaceable and civilized people. “It is just that the Maori rather dropped out of sight for decades,” said a well-intentioned pakeha apologetically. The government and the opposition seem sincere about justice and reparation. Maoris now hold high government positions, are being felt in the arts, explained by their own sociologists and anthropologists, encouraged to recover their traditions and customs. Maori candidates are standing for parliament in both major parties. And the Maori way seems to have affected the national culture: Maoris make no decision until there is complete agreement and New Zealanders as a whole are uncomfortable with slim majorities. They prefer as much as 85 percent before taking action, insists one legislator. Inter-marriage is common once again, and most old New Zealand families have Maori relatives. But whether the change is to come by Maori adjusting to the pakeha culture, as one Maori candidate insists, or whether by the natural amalgamation of the two peoples, as a pakeha intellectual believes, change is on its way and irreversible. “Retaining what is left of the land is probably crucial to in the survival of Maoritanga, but if Maoris as individuals are to achieve personal identity the problems of adjusting to city life will have to be grappled with,” writes another pakeha. Something warm and beautiful in the old Maori life is inevitably passing; one understands the sad cry of the prescient writer—“Haere ra, my father, farewell.”

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